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643 to join him in exile. The conflict was so serious that the tribe seethed
578 with disaffection, though the queen seemed to be torn between love for
687 her daughter and disapproval of the whole episode. The present conflict
644 is in many respects typical. There is, as there used to be in the past, strife between the old councillors, who lose their power when the old queen dies, and the new councillors, who side with the new queen. The latter gradually supplant the former, but regard with fear the day when the friends of the heir in turn will oust them. This struggle is very real, and seems to reflect a more fundamental conflict; for the exalted purpose of the royal institutions exacts an unnatural sacrifice by the queen in order to make way for the heir she naturally loves.

643 The whole royal complex is perfectly logical once it is granted that there
644 must be queens, that succession is uncertain, and that ritual suicide is the guarantee of the chief's divinity. In a society in which the 'sister' (*khadi*) is priestess, her great religious role, still seen to-day among neighbouring tribes where chiefs are males, falls to the queen among the Lovedu. The ideal, imperfectly actualized since queens replaced kings, still persists that the *khadi* of the chief should have power and be given a large district to rule. In theory the brother of the chief is the great councillor, general, and judge. But in practice the complications set up by having queens thrown these arrangements out of gear. True to pattern, the greatest district head is to-day a woman, who is a 'sister' to the queen and, though a 'sister' threefold (through mother, legal father, and paternal uncle), she is not the uterine or ritual 'sister'. At present the relatives through the queen's mother, not through Mujaji II her legal father, are important councillors, but it is not unlikely that in the next reign the great councillors will be the present heir's relatives through her legal father, the queen, who is also her physiological mother.

642 Owing to the inapplicability of the term 'council' to Lovedu arrange-
643 ments, we need say only a few words on this subject. There is no need
644 of a visible organization to support Lovedu court life, which is ceremonious, but not politically oriented. Power and authority derive from the queen's divine appointment, her exclusive secret of rain-making, and her strategic position in the social web. She is neither a military nor a political leader; she does not even have a priesthood organization to assist her in her function as high-priest. There are confidential advisers, but they neither constitute the more or less definite secret council (*sephiri*) of some neighbouring tribes nor necessarily function as political councillors; on the contrary the former, having assisted in the accession of the queen, are in institutional conflict with the latter, who later gain political control. The councillors represent the assertion of power by the rising generation of men in the sphere of law and politics as against women and the older generation in ritual, religion, and the social system. They are part mainly of the court (*khoro*) and the tribal gathering (*kgotla*), two indeterminate bodies.

643 Confidential advisers are mainly important district heads; councillors
643 are always residents in the capital. Both are relatives, but, in the case of
634 the confidants, not necessarily close relatives of the queen. In the inner royal circle, the closest kin are necessarily those reckoned through the

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queen's mother—that is, either the queen's predecessor on the throne or, if she has borne no children, the queen's physiological mother. The unofficial husbands of the queens are brothers chosen from the line of Maleguduo (elder brother of Mujaji I), but relationship is not reckoned through them as fathers. Closeness of relationship is important, but personality and opportunity count as much. The most influential councillor is often said to be the queen's mother's brother—in other words, the brother of the deceased queen or, if she has no issue, the brother of the wife of the queen who bore the queen. In fact, however, other relatives rise to equally influential positions. To take a concrete instance, the councillors of Mujaji III have been relatives either through Leakhali, chief wife and 'sister' of Mujaji II and physiological mother of Mujaji III, or through Mujaji II, her mother, Mujaji I, and the latter's brothers, such as Maleguduo. Muneri, the chief councillor to-day, is Leakhali's uterine brother's son, and before him there were Mulogwane, uterine brother of the queen, and also Leakhali's uterine brother. Earlier still, but in the present queen's time, the greatest councillors were others tracing descent from Maleguduo. There is no precise rule either as to the number or identity of the councillors. The *dume* of the queen should not be a relative; he is merely a messenger, and, unlike the *indume* elsewhere, is of no account, having no special legal or other status or function.

The *khinji* is neither the more or less determinate body of private advisers (*kontlo*), nor even the tribal gathering (*pitsho*), of the Sotho. It is mainly constituted by district heads, or their representatives, and the men of the capital, but any one attends; and it is never conceived of as a general assembly of all the initiated men of the tribe. It has little power and less initiative; it is summoned mostly to discuss European matters, and there is now a tendency to place some decisions of the men of the capital before it for confirmation; but it is hardly a means of gauging popular feeling or of expressing the royal will. The co-operation of the tribe is secured and its desires made known, not through the *khinji*, but through other social arrangements, which we shall describe at greater length.

These arrangements run parallel with a distinctive system of wives of the queen, called *vujavani*, a term also applied to the wives of all nobles and women other than the queen may have *vujavani*. The majority of the queen's wives are given to her by her district heads. In a sense, these wives are tribute (*ine ho lova*), but the queen always gives some *mamyonolo*. She also receives wives from foreign chiefs who supplicate for rain or for peace, and from headmen who settle in her country and send their daughters or sisters; in these cases no *mamyonolo* is given. Finally, she is sent wives by the nobles, by those to whom she has given wives or cattle with which to secure wives, and by those who promise their little 'mud-stampers' as repayment for the assistance they ask. Sometimes also the queen takes a liking to a girl and asks her in marriage and sometimes commoners send their daughters. It will be impracticable to deal with all these cases; and, from the point of view of the political organization, we are mainly concerned with the wives sent by district heads. They send their daughters for purposes of *ho lova*, a word used in a wide

[marriage cattle, *loa* cat. 883 per district.—Analyst]

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communion, including the conceptions of showing allegiance, doing homage, paying tribute, honouring, but, above all, supplicating for rain. District heads *lowa* in this way, it is said, in recognition of the land which the queen has given them to rule; but what is really important is their dependence, as holders of land of the queen, upon the protection and security of her rain-making powers. Uulovedu, her country, is the land where persons (*i.e.* wives) and other possessions are utterly lost (*ku lowa*), because they are given in exchange for the rain that the queen makes. The queen has accepted wives even from the Shangano-Tonga, with whom marriage is not permitted, but in that case she hands them to her nobles, not as wives, but as daughters; and after a time they become sufficiently Lovedunised to be given in marriage to commoners. These wives usually stay at the capital for a limited time; only a few of them, some six to nine to-day, remain permanently; the others are handed chiefly to district heads and nobles.

While the wives are at the capital they do the work that wives ordinarily do: they hoe for their husband, the queen, who sometimes accompanies them to the fields, they attend to domestic duties, they stamp and brew beer, but only two or three of them are sufficiently noble and trusted to cook for the queen. The queen is bridegroom to their people and they are her relatives-in-law; and even the details of the marriage ceremony are maintained. There are variations upon the ordinary pattern of marriage and *masyunalo*; the *masyunalo*, for instance, is less, but what is particularly stressed is the virginity of the bride. For a time she wears only a loin cloth as evidence that she is not pregnant and a substitute must be sent for a girl who has been 'spoilt' before marriage with the queen. The first daughter of the district head of Mulloni was 'engaged' to the queen, the second to her cross-cousin, a nobleman. The fiancée of the queen became pregnant and was rejected, the queen arranging an exchange with the nobleman. The same nobleman years ago had been 'given' a wife by the queen and recently in return, as is obligatory, he sent his daughter as wife to the queen. This daughter became pregnant, was allotted to another nobleman, whom she deserted, and now stays with her father nursing an infant of two years of age. Such complications merely throw into relief the ramifications of the system.

The queen does not accept 'spoilt' brides and she equally expects that her wives shall remain chaste, at least for a time. Theoretical insistence upon chastity co-exists with a realistic attitude to the weaknesses of human nature. Seduction of a wife of the queen is penalised as if she were still unmarried and the daughter of the queen. Pregnant wives, unless the queen has authorised the liaison, are disgraced, sent home, and returned with beer to wipe out the disgrace, and sometimes an ox is slaughtered for the returned wife, the peritoneum being hung round her neck to indicate that she is the queen's wife. According to the standards of the society, the seducer, as in any ordinary case of seduction, may not marry the woman he has seduced; he may not even see his infant child. Few of the wives of the queen permanently remain chaste, though it is a great honour often very specially rewarded. The great wives, if they remain chaste, may be given areas to rule or special villages of their own.

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If favoured by one of the great councillors, they could be given their own hut (and in the old days a cow into the bargain) and be allowed to co-habit there with the councillor. This gains for them an honourable place in the capital, where they exercise great influence in the private councils of the queen, intercede for others with the queen and are her companions. *Bajanoni* of high rank may, as mistresses of their own villages, aspire to the great circle of huts drawn by the establishments of their wives, and they may even attain the pinnacle of prestige where, as happens when the queen is barren, they are chosen to bear the heir to the throne. The lesser *bajanoni*, who have remained chaste, may be released from their vows and allowed 'to go about in the bush', and eventually they may be handed out to nobles or district heads.

It is, however, contrary to the ideals expressed for a virgin *bajanoni* to be given away, though the ideal recedes before other considerations, such as the poverty of a noble or sympathy in a loss he has sustained. Only some of the *bajanoni* who have illicit children continue to remain at the capital—for instance, there is an old woman who has a married son about forty years old. She had her lapse when she went on a visit to her home, but no one knows who her lover was. The son still lives with his mother at the capital; as a son of the queen, he is not without influence, but his influence is resented. He and his mother are regarded as witches, and he has many enemies and for long periods has to escape to town to allow threatening storms to blow over. Councillors can hardly afford to allow wives of the queen who have sons to remain permanently: the honour is too great and the opportunities of exploiting their position too numerous. The institutional arrangement of sending *bajanoni* with children away to be married to others avoids this danger. The children may, if they are proud, call themselves Mujaji and they are described as 'the heads of Mohale', but legally they are no longer children of the queen and they lose their opportunities for intriguing.

Through her wives, the queen becomes 'son-in-law' to all her district heads, and by allocating these wives to other district heads and to noblemen she becomes parent-in-law to them. The system thus uses the mechanisms of the social system to forge a great network of chains radiating from the queen like a web to all strategic points in the society. The link with the queen theoretically never breaks, as a wife handed out must, when she has a daughter, send her in turn to be married by the queen. An important wife, even after allocation, may still enter the queen's hut. The queen remains interested in the welfare of her erstwhile wives and takes them back if the husband ill-treats them or their children. A new link, that of marriage, is created between the people of the wife allocated and of the husband to whom she is given. A man pays no *mayenzalo* for such a wife, yet the link is a true *mayenzalo* link; for, if the wife deserts, the husband may, though he has given nothing, demand back *mayenzalo* from her people (that which the queen gave them). He may complain to the queen, who can, if she wishes, urge his case, but she usually says, 'I can freely give. I cannot return by force.'

How district heads become linked with the queen and with one another may be shown by an illustration which we have greatly simplified for

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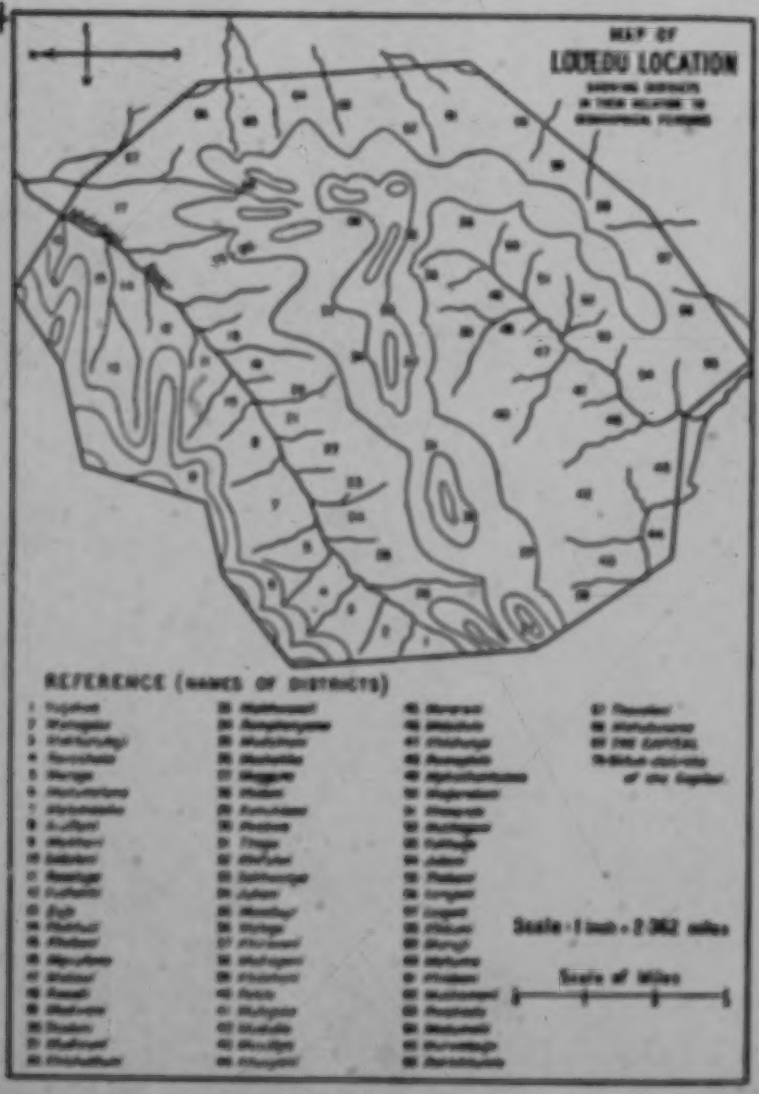
● 634



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case of presentation. Masetha, district head of Mareroni, some thirty-eight years ago gave his daughter, Muthatso, to the queen. Muthatso after a time was allotted to Khidima, the queen's maternal uncle. Later Khidima sent a daughter to be one of the wives of the queen and this girl in turn was given by the queen to Nagambi, district head of Maulwi. Meanwhile Masetha's son, Mahale, succeeded at Mareroni and sent the only issue of his wife, the daughter Makwajo, to the queen (1936). The next ruler at Mareroni will be either Makwajo or an heir raised by the wife acquired with the cattle given by the queen, as *mweywale* for Makwajo. Already these arrangements link the district heads of Mareroni and of Maulwi with the queen and one of her nobles, and also with one another. The network is indefinitely continued in all directions, and though its ends appear to diverge, they centre in the queen and become interlinked at many points. For instance, to Rasodi, a younger brother of Nagambi, the queen gave Makwada, her wife, who came from Malematsha, an important district head, and as a result Rasodi's son must marry at Malematsha's. Once these interrelations are established, they set into motion the whole social system and the reciprocities which double the links and perpetuate the interrelations. In the district of the capital the ramifications of exchanges and re-exchanges are so complex as to defy analysis.

Broadly speaking, districts may be divided into those given to one of the old *lenzwo* or royal groups (of Mahale, of Mudiga and of Mahasha), those originating from *vujanani*, and those held by heads of foreign groups. The so-called *vujanani* districts constitute a composite group, because women do not normally succeed to one another. We have already mentioned elsewhere how the district Matsai was given by Mujaji I to her wife, who, marrying a Crocodile, was succeeded by her son Matsai and his line of Crocodiles. In 34 per cent. of the 100 districts we know well enough to trace their origin, the position has not been very different. To-day sixty of these 100 districts are held by the royal groups and forty by foreign groups, and of those held by foreigners sixteen were acquired, as Matsai was, through *vujanani*. Thus 40 per cent. of the foreign and 30 per cent. of the *lenzwo* districts, so far as we know, were originally handed to wives of the chiefs. Districts may originate in many other ways. It was customary for the kings to place their districts under sisters and brothers and temporarily also under their wives. Their wives could not as easily as among the queens consolidate their position, as they were unable to send their daughters as wives to the king, whereas now they can and do send such wives to the queens. Districts were also given to the great messengers (*dikoni*) of the chiefs; to foreigners, who, though they came with no large following, were renowned doctors of the national 'ethnics', some of which they introduced; to men who gave the queen cattle and a wife, and occasionally to those who had rendered services of value.

It does not much matter how a district originates from the point of view of the links that are gradually established with the queen and with one another. If foreigners come with a large, compact body of followers, they are often given an area and in return send their daughters as wives

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634 563 571 to the queen. A Ṭalerwa group came from the west in Khisi's reign (*c.* 1740), had a *mujeweni* at the capital and were given a large district. Makemanshe, a son of the *mujeweni*, having married a daughter of Mugudo, the next chief, was given half the district, the other half being ruled by the Ṭalerwa head. By these arrangements the Ṭalerwa line became *vamakhosi* of Makemanshe, whose son succeeded to the whole area in 1895, when the Ṭalerwa ruling family left as the result of famine. The Makemanshe are *vafakhosi* of the royal Lovedu. At Bagoni, which was originally given by Mujaji I to her younger brother, Murwamaga, there now rules Mukupi, daughter of Murwamaga's son. Mukupi had been the wife of Mujaji II, but, as there was no living male heir, she was released by the queen so as to enable her to rule the area. The true heir, son of the girl whom Mukupi's brother, had he lived, would have married (for the girl was the brother's cattle-linked cross-cousin), is now about forty-five years of age. It is doubtful whether he will ever succeed, for Mukupi is an ambitious and important woman, a district head who, like the queen, has no legal husband, but several wives; she is related to the queen and her councillors in a dozen ways, the most important being that she is *makhadi* of the queen and was wife of Mujaji II. Rebilo has a long history, but we need go no further back than the time when it was entrusted by Mujaji I to Mathogoni, daughter of Mugudo, the chief, and *mujeweni* of Mujaji I. Mathogoni married first Rampi and, after his death, Mahonsia, Rampi's brother. Kwathi, son of the latter, who was given a *mujeweni* by Mujaji II, for reasons we need not here consider, usurped the headship. Segute is a district given by Mujaji II to her wife Makhivena, who was daughter of a Venda chief, and, as Makhivena had no issue, she was succeeded by her sister's son, the sister having married a direct male descendant of the elder brother of Mujaji I. This elder brother, Malegudo, had a daughter, Magovo, who became *mujeweni* of Mujaji II. Mujaji III made Magovo head of Maubvi, and Magovo's son, Mugudo, was the man who was chosen to raise the next heir to the throne. A son of Mugudo by his chief wife (not the queen) is now district head at Maubvi. These are but some of the cases, much simplified, that give us an idea of the manner in which districts originate and become linked up with the queen and the royal group.

634 571 554 The district is a political and a territorial unit, often very small in size, and usually having a distinctive praise. The size varies from half a square mile to nine square miles, the average in the compound reserve being under one square mile. Originally the districts were larger, but, as European occupation advanced, the old districts were divided and subdivided to make room for the heads that were created. The praises, already mentioned elsewhere, are generally praises of the group or sub-group of the head. At Maunadale, though he migrated from Naji, near Tzaneen in the south, to the tribal farm Khimbelwa to the north of Dzimondo, they still sing, 'Crocodile of Mugasi, outcast (*mavhiha*) of the rain water,' because his people had no rain-making magic; when Mahoboma brings here, the praise runs, 'At the kitchen-hut of Magwala of Khudini, where potatoes are eaten,' though Mahobomma now rules over the capital, having long ago left Khudini, to the south of Dzimondo,

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and at Khimaela one may hear, 'You are drunk, you of Maleakhotho, you who are habitual smokers of hemp.' Not only have sub-groups and even lineages distinctive variations upon perhaps a common praise of the group, but there are different praises appropriate to different occasions.

Owing to patrilocal marriage, the patrilineal kin tend to form the core of a district. These cores were perhaps more distinct in the distant past, for it is quite clear that, for instance, the districts of the Mudiga lay towards the east, while those of the Mahasha clustered together in the north-west. But members of the Mudiga and Mahasha were always scattered throughout the tribe and never co-operated as groups in any political situation. We must not think of co-operating patrilineal groups, for 'A man has influence and fortune where he has relatives-in-law'. The core of the district may be the brothers, father's brothers, and their sons in the district, but generally the mother is a link with one outside district and sisters and daughters marry into others. There is seldom a numerical preponderance of the lineage of the district head in the territorial unit, their number and solidarity depending upon a large number of factors: length of residence or of headship, the homogeneity of diversity, size, dispersion or concentration of the group that immigrated and was given a district, agreement within the group, and so on.

We may take Matsui as an example. The head, a Crocodile, and his male forebears have ruled the area for over a century. Matsui is at one point immediately adjacent to the capital, but it is also near a whole chain of old Crocodile settlements, which 150 years ago extended from Mamaila in the north to Undupi in the south. The district is largely a valley area and thus avoided by the Lovedu royal group, but extensively occupied by the Shangana-Tonga since about 1840. The population is 22 per cent. Crocodile and 14 per cent. Lovedu; 47 per cent. of the people belong to foreign groups or sub-groups, with whom intermarriage is not wholly disapproved, still 17 per cent. Shangana-Tonga. The Crocodiles are patrilineal kin and the Lovedu are relatives-in-law of the head, but the links with the Shangana-Tonga are those of neighbourliness, some friendship, and some economic interdependence. Of the intermarriageable foreigners, 20 per cent. are related in some way to the head, being usually relatives of the line of 'messengers' (*Abanu*) of the district head. It is generally felt that the messengers should not be patrilineally related to the head because of possible conflicts, but their alliance with the head is usually a close and long-established one. In the case of Matsui, the links are not only through the capital where the group of the 'messenger' used to be officials, but also through the district head's brother, who is the *mujalukulu* (cattle-linked sister's son) of the 'messenger'. In other districts, of course, the dispositions are different: on the hills, for instance, there are no Shangana-Tonga and few of the more or less outcast *vavha*. The diversity of the groups is very great, as we have indicated elsewhere, but the manner in which they have been interwoven into the royal group, chiefly through the districts, is even more impressive.

The patrilineal core of the district is no more important than the link through the bilateral kin, especially through mothers and sisters and daughters and the cattle-chains forged by them with other areas and with

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the capital. These links emphasize the part played by women in the political system. The intermediaries or registrars at the capital, through whom political and legal matters are taken from the district to the queen, are called, not fathers or councillors, as is very usual in other tribes, but 'mothers' of the district heads (*nna ovua*), a very appropriate name in the light of the fact that one usually approaches the paternal authority through one's mother. 'Mothers' of districts may be women as well as men, and quite often a male 'mother' is succeeded by his widow. The position opens large avenues of political opportunity for women. Again, at present 14 per cent. of the acting district heads are women, some holding in their own right, some on behalf of a male heir, who perhaps, as in the case of Mukupi, will never have much influence during the lifetime of the deputy. If we reckon cases in which a son is ruling in consultation with his mother, the percentage is much higher.

Let us take a few examples. Mukoko, the *jester* (*khidanda*) at the capital, is nominally head at Ravothata; but until her death it was his mother, daughter of the brother of Mujaji II and a wife of the queen, who was in charge, and it is now his wife, also an ex-wife of the queen, who has remained behind and rules, though Mukoko has appointed a deputy. At Maduvheni, the heir has quarrelled with and was expelled by the sister of his deceased father; she installed another son, Khobi, as nominal head; and when Khobi died, his sister took over control, feathering the nest of her son, against whom the chances of the rightful heir seem at present to be small. At Muthomeni the mother's influential relatives secured the succession of Mudzwalo against that of his younger brother, the legal heir. Matsure's sister's daughter is head at Khiobeni and her husband does the court work. Khimavile, an old Mudiga district, was consistently given to wives of the queen; and in its recent history, Matsaga, a wife of the queen who married a Mudiga, was head until her son, Thagu, took over. The mother of a district head at Khithunja rules because the son has paralysis. At Levejini, Bugi, who is now head, entrusted the district to his elder sister, who, in order to rule, as she did until her death, left her husband, who lived in another area. Rapedo at Mashakha had only one daughter in the great house and she was a wife of the queen when he died; his wife is now head, and, if the ideal pattern is followed, she will be succeeded by the heir of the daughter-in-law, a supposititious wife of her son, who comes to cook for her; but this daughter-in-law, as experience shows, is likely to overshadow her son, the true heir. Magoso, sister of Mugudo, the chief, was the first ruler at Mudzieseni; as she had no issue, her sister succeeded her, the next head was daughter of the sister (because the son expelled the true heir and then died prematurely), and this daughter was followed by her own choice, the son of her brother.

Cases of this nature, where a woman plays the decisive role, may be multiplied. They may give the impression that there are no strongly institutionalized rules of succession; yet these rules exist. They are patrilineally patterned, but they recognize the claims of the sister's son (*mugholodzi*). The weight of the social structure, in all complicated cases, balances unevenly between the cattle-descent and the cattle-linked

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house—that is, between the heir raised in the chief house of the head and the head's cattle-linked sister. The daughter of the cattle-linked brother comes as daughter-in-law to the mistress of the chief house, her cattle-linked aunt, to bear the heir, whether that house has a son or not; and legal precedences support this arrangement and succession. This emphasizes the power of the mother and her lineage. But the position of the cattle-linked sister is also strong, as we have indicated elsewhere, and in cases of succession to the headship of a district is further strengthened if she has been a wife of the queen. Conflicts do often arise and it is not strange that the queen usually leaves them to settle themselves. It is seldom that she interferes or interposes her authority, though she does so when the balance of convenience or interest strongly inclines one way. Tenure of headship is tolerably secure. The queen would only exceptionally and for very good reasons favour the displacement of a district head of one of the old groups; and in that case the district itself must strongly desire it while, not a stranger, but the nearest acceptable relative of the lineage will be substituted. If, however, the links with the royal family are not close, tenure by the lineage is less secure and it occasions no surprise that a man, coming to the queen with a few pounds, may be given a district where there has been trouble. We have seen a few such cases and it seemed incomprehensible to those with whom we discussed them that we suspected bribery and corruption.

The district is singularly autonomous in its political arrangements. Land is allotted by the district head not, as in many neighbouring tribes, by the chief. The district head, if he wishes, gives land to people living in other districts; at Mawa, for instance, non-residents hold over 300 fields. The district head reports the settlement of a stranger from another tribe by taking £1 to the queen, but it is to him as district owner that landholders annually bring beer. A non-resident also nowadays endeavours the district head with beer, clothes, and even money before asking for land. The land given to a non-resident is not very securely held; the tenure is so imperfectly institutionalized that practice varies from one district to another and definite rights and obligations cannot easily be deduced; on the whole, it is not unlike lending, though the culture does not recognize lending of land for a consideration. A non-resident holding land in a district, unlike a resident, cannot, generally speaking, interchange it with or lend it to others without the consent of the head; but at the capital he can, even without reporting to the queen; and there also a resident may break new land without any one's permission.

Land tenure is too complicated for treatment here, but we may note that where a district head takes back the land of a resident, the queen's court may, but does not usually, interfere in the interests not so much of security of land tenure as of peace. If a resident quarrels with the district head, he cannot beg pardon with beer, highly though that method of reconciliation is appreciated, because he would be 'humbling himself with the muzzles of the head' or, as it is sometimes phrased, 'paying a fine with the calf of the cattle of the district head'. A resident migrating from the district should bid the head farewell with 'the beer of greeting'; application

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634 for land would then be regarded more favourably should he one day
§25 return. The fruits of the soil are dealt with in much the same manner.
§23 A man may graze his cattle inside or outside the district, but the cattle
posts of the old days were within the district only. We have mentioned
the division of herdboys of different districts; we may add that some
district heads, because of traditional values and limited grazing land,
object to fencing. District heads sometimes reserve valuable trees for
themselves, and it is they who give permission for the cutting down of
large and shady trees or indigenous fruit-trees (though they be on the
landowner's land). Honey found in trees, but not that found in the
ground allotted, belongs to the district head. Some heads allow only
residents to cut grass, making others pay. Hunting and water rights are
not so regulated, but digging of clay is sometimes, if illegally. The
[77] preservation of large forests, a national asset, as places of the gods or of
refuge in time of war is the concern of the queen, so that, for instance,
Mujaji II had her cattle driven into the gardens of some people, including
a district head, who had cleared part of the Lenyani forest and had not
begged pardon by sending a sujasusi to her.

634 Some distinctive cultural and administrative arrangements of the
643 districts have already been mentioned. There are many others. All
651 district heads used to have, and many still have, certain fields cultivated
for them. The queen also has such fields in her districts, and since 1927
each district head has had to cultivate a field (morewa) in his district for
the queen, an innovation suggested by the Europeans to enable the queen
to help her people during famines. The experiment has turned out very
differently. These fields are badly cultivated, for years some district
heads bring no moeloa, the failure only sporadically leading to the penal-
isation of the head and his district, and the moeloa are always converted
into beer for entertainments at the capital that benefit only the local
residents. The courage of moeloa is impracticable and a system of dis-
tribution is not implied in cultural arrangements. A district head un-
willingly surrenders land and sometimes expropriates first one then
another landowner, so that there is much dissatisfaction and even refusal
to cultivate the morewa.

634 In many respects district heads are like chiefs. They are often called
651 'chief' (khosi) and, like the queen, have medicines to safeguard them in
their position of authority. A district head is not only the most important
person in the district, the centre of its political and legal life, the man who
is responsible for the welfare of his people, but the obligations of district
residents towards him emphasise both his position and the reciprocities
between ruler and subject. It is expected that his subjects shall bring
him beer periodically, and sometimes it is held that he should be invited
to every beer party held in his area, partly because he is responsible for
order at the beer drink and partly because it is his due. All his subjects
must make morula cider for him in the proper season, and similarly, when
at certain ceremonies, held by him for the well-being of the district, beer
is required, every resident must contribute. The most important occasion
is at the harvest thanksgiving and the beer brought is regarded as being in
return for the land given by the head to his people. On the persons of

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services to a chief, residents must also build his village and mend his huts. These privileges and obligations are not merely theoretical; they are very much in evidence and can be observed to-day in the districts as much so, if not more than, at the capital. The first edible tsamboes found in the district must, in the case of some of the more important heads, be brought to the district head; these nuts are ritually associated with rain-making and are put into the rain pots which these heads have.

The national 'schools' are sometimes held independently by district heads; in 'biting' the first fruits (*ku-lomo*) and in turning the first soil, the precedence of the queen is hardly recognized. The head at Duja and the senior male line of the royal family have theoretical precedence in *ku lomo* and, in contrast to many neighbouring tribes, there is little stress upon having the queen's field hoed first; in practice to-day her field is never ploughed first. Mazondale, it is said, in the old days paid an ox to anticipate the queen's hoeing and thus avoided threatening starvation; but dispensations of this nature, while recognizing a theoretical rule, throw into relief the much greater autonomy of the district here than elsewhere. The district head is solely responsible for *ku ngu*, the rite that drives away destructive birds and monkeys when crops are ripe; to him the death of every resident is reported (the report being transmitted to the queen only when a relative of hers dies) and the resulting 'holiday' is held only in the district. Each district head has his own drums through which he controls dancing (*gwba*), religious observances, and some of the 'schools'. The girls' puberty rite (*khoba*) is entirely district-controlled.

The individuality of some districts is seen in economic interests, elsewhere by taboo, succession ceremonial, and a distinctive community life. At Khisheni people may construct on the edge of the village a rain-shelter (*lwanda*) in which fire is made; in neighbouring areas this is taboo. Work on the day following the new moon is said to have been taboo in the old days at Mamsi, though the rule is never observed to-day; in neighbouring areas there never was such a holiday. The Thovele in one district have a special dance with a special ritual. As regards succession, the queen usually merely confirms, though she maintains touch through an elaborate ceremony; she is notified of the death of the head, sends the 'mother' of the district to take part in the ceremony of installation and, in the case of heads of the royal group, the *mahijini* appear. The commercial, however, more intimately concerns the district: there is a local 'holiday' after the death, the *gwba* dance is taboo for a year, girls undergo puberty initiation elsewhere, beer is made by the district to 'open the drums', and each head of a family sends a goat or ox, 'the eye of the chief', to acknowledge their new head. The life of the district is often distinctive. Mamsi is said to be wasteful and, according to one of their proverbs, people there, instead of emerging, for which they are too lazy, 'burn their finger-nails running grass crosline'. Everything is rather slack and happy-go-lucky, beer drinks are apt to be unruly, the district head is at loggerheads with his council, and his subjects talk disparagingly of 'this district-head business of going about and drinking beer'. Bacchanalian orgies after the harvest, dark murals, and other irregularities at Mamsi contrast strikingly with conditions at Bogosi, an adjacent district. At Bogosi there is a tradition

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of thrift, strict control of beer-drinks, interest in national affairs, of pride and independence. Of course, a great deal depends upon the personality of the district head, but traditions in the district are not unimportant.

Districts are not always left to go their own way. In the last resort, as in legal matters, the authority of the capital may be invoked, and it may be invoked even against a whole district. Just as a district may collectively take action against a threat to its well-being, as occurred in the small-pox epidemic in 1938, when one district assembled and collected funds to have the witch who was causing the deaths smelt out, so it may be held collectively responsible by the capital for failure to cultivate the chief's field. This is the more striking because there is no kraal responsibility and the so-called 'spoor law' (whereby a kraal head, unwilling or unable to explain why the track of stolen cattle leads to but does not leave his kraal is held responsible, whoever the thief in his kraal might be) is not known. We have seen a district fined, never a kraal. The queen has theoretically to confirm the expulsion of a subject; in cases referred to a diviner, the 'ears' or official witness should be, but is not always, appointed at the queen's court. In practice, however, the queen seldom interposes her authority. For years now no one knows who is head at Dzhejino, the balance swinging unevenly between three claimants. At Mafarabeni, Mutese, who persistently refused to do homage (*ku lova*) to the queen with beer, was deposed; but that there were other considerations at issue appears from the fact that immediately afterwards he was installed at Dzikhuda. When Thagu at Khimanzi in 1936 expelled his paternal uncle's son for whom he was deputizing, nothing was done. At Raleshga when the head died, the messenger (*dzwa*) took over, ruled for years without confirmation from the capital and in 1938 was recognised (because his son became valuable as driver of the councillor's newly acquired motor car), the real heir being quietly overlooked. Not long ago the nobles at a tribal gathering carried their point that only royal relatives should be appointed as district heads on the farms that were being purchased, but the rule remained a dead letter and of the ten heads appointed in these areas eight are foreigners.

In its visible structure, the political organization may appear unimpressive and in its dynamics chaotic. Its efficiency certainly is and always was—for it is not culture contact that is responsible for the irregularities—of an order different from ours. Efficiency is relative to the purposes of the culture. The aim has never been power or empire, but holding subjects together on the model of the social organization. The slight regimentation of the 'schools' subserves no political or military purpose, and court life is not concerned with displays, nor is it characterized by differentiated officials and courtiers controlling a great central organization. Unlike the Shangana-Tonga, the Lovedu cannot deal with large gatherings of men such as collected on Coronation Day in 1937. The genius of the society is in organizing relationships between people, and so long as the reciprocity and compromise and the sentiments built up by interdependencies are reasonably maintained, it does not much matter that irregularities occur here and there. The influence of the

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and of important councillors who are her closest relatives: when a chief dies the body is left for some days in the hut, so that, when it is rubbed in a certain way (*ku fwalusa*), the skin easily comes away. Other ingredients are fat of the scaly ant-eater (*khwavu*), a royal animal which, when found, has always to be brought alive to the royal village, and parts of the kudu (*tlobi*). The queen's rain-doctor told us that essential ingredients were sea-water, because it foams and froths (*ku puhula*), feathers of the lightning bird, white and black sea shells, and various roots and barks, chief among which is the stem of the *khadi* (*Adenia gummifera*), a tough forest creeper that contains much water. *Khadi* stems are also used for sprinkling 'cooling' medicines and for tying the bodies of dead people. Whether the queen uses these ingredients, we cannot say. From time to time a black sheep is killed to give strength to the queen's rain medicines; it has to be washed with water which is afterwards poured into the rain pots, but it is said that such a sheep is merely a present-day substitute for a human being, usually a child, whose brains were used. Important district heads related to the chief also have their rain-pots. Every year in about August, at the command of the queen, such a district head collects certain roots and barks, knowledge of which he has received from his father, places them in his rain-pot, mixed with water that has been drawn by girls below the age of puberty, and stirs them up so that rain may be good that year. Rain-pots are great secrets and only after years of friendship were we privileged to see one: it was well hidden in the cleft of a rock and partly buried at the foot of a tree on the upper slopes of a hill where the owner's father had dwelt. The rain-pots of the queen we have not seen, and what regular measures she takes are not known for certain; but, since it is said, when there are good rains, that the queen has firmly laid the foundations (*ku thea*) of the year, it is not unlikely that she also stirs her medicines.

Great care has to be taken lest the rain-pots 'weaken' (*ku fgokola*). They have to be given (*ku lumisa*, to cause to be bitten) the first green foods (*matshatsha*) every year, kaffir water melon (*legwadzi*) mixed with other green foods being used for the purpose, and at the royal village no one cooks and eats the new summer relishes before this has been done. On this day possessed people or people who have epilepsy also eat medicine with the firstfruits, but ordinary people do not *luma*, and there are none of the public festivities of a semi-military character associated with the eating of the firstfruits among Swazi and Zulu. It is very important too that the first termites (*dimpwa*), which appear usually in December, just after the first good rains, should be given to the rain-pots. Termites are closely associated with rain: they always fly out of their nests just after the rain; in a dry year there are very few; and it is believed that sprinkling the antheap with rain medicine (*mafuga*) makes the ants come in great numbers. Termites for the rain-pots may not be gathered by married women or girls over the age of puberty, and in 1937, when some young girls carried the first termites to the queen, she gave the termites to the dogs, refusing to use ants that had been thus defiled. The giving of the first termites to the rain-pots is called *bulasa*. An interesting case arose out of this practice in January, 1938, when certain people in Uuthudi

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marriage. Where the chief is a woman, her own son or daughter succeeds. The Lobedu now have a distinct preference for women rulers; the last three chiefs have been women, and the present queen succeeded in preference to her elder uterine brother. It would seem that the fashion was set by the Lobedu, for tribal genealogies show no women chiefs in the Lowveld prior to the accession of Modjadji I. Shortly after that we have the appearance of the first queen in the Khaba and Mamaila tribes, followed later by Letswalo and Mahlo. Lowveld tribes are no exception to the general tendency among Bantu for succession to the throne to be accompanied by trouble and bloodshed. They have, however, an interesting method of submitting the case of various claimants to the decision of the powers that be by the ordeal of trying the door. All claimants to the throne are brought to the closed door of the hut in which the old chief died. One by one, they step forward shouting their own name and ancestry to try the door which, while resisting all efforts of other claimants, flies open at the touch of the rightful heir.[1]

The Lowveld chief is assisted and advised in the government of his country by his relatives,[2] generally known as *bakhomana*. There are no formal councils, as among Tswana, and it is even doubtful whether the *pitjo* or meeting of all adult men in the tribe ever had power to make decisions. Certainly to-day it is called only when orders or notices from European authorities have to be transmitted. No one in the Lobedu tribe ever knows what is happening even in important matters affecting them all, and the tribe accepts with equanimity the most outrageous favouritism of the royal family.

The district, bounded by natural features such as streams or depressions down the hill-sides, is generally quite small, varying in extent from about one square mile to five, so that in a country like Modjadji's with an area of some 140 square miles there are about 100 headmen. Aggregations of districts into larger units under subchiefs, such as are found in Zululand, though not unknown, are not

[1] Some one is, of course, inside to hold the door against the wrong claimants and in Modjadji's tribe the chief always has one hut with two doors, said to be for this purpose.

[2] The *rangwane* (father's brother) or *rakhadi* (father's sister) are often important advisers or, especially where a woman is ruling, the *malome* (mother's brother).

3: Krige E-5 (1928-1938)1938 FX14 Lovedu FX14

characteristic of Lowveld political organization. Districts are still of great importance, and the district head is a busy and important man, both socially and politically. Contact with the European has resulted in two diverse tendencies observable in our area: among small tribes, such as Phalaborwa and Sekhopo's Lobedu, there has been increased centralization, the chief taking over functions, such as allocation of land, which used to be the province of headmen; elsewhere, especially in the large kingdom of Modjadji, district headmen are in many respects becoming more independent, exacting from underlings labour to which they are not entitled and even controlling other districts to which they have no right.

Women may here, as among Venda, be heads of districts,[1] and, though the proportion of women to men is never high, they are often the most important district heads in the tribe. Women become headmen in a variety of ways: among Lobedu a woman of the royal family may be appointed head of an area (generally, nowadays, over newly-bought tribal land) and though in practice her husband may do most of the work, she it is who is recognized and approached in the last resort. A daughter of the chief house succeeds her father even if there are sons of other houses; a woman may succeed her husband when the children are too young, and though, strictly speaking, she is only a regent in this case, she often continues to rule until her death and long after her son has attained his majority. Or a *rakhadi* may be asked to act as regent for her nephew, in which case she very often secures the succession for her own son, ousting the rightful heir.

Law and Justice. The Lowveld was the land of the ordeal, the only method by which witchcraft could be discovered or difficult cases of theft and adultery, where evidence was inconclusive, be decided. Boiling medicated water which scalded only the hands of the guilty might be used or a concoction be drunk which intoxicated the culprit, leaving the innocent unaffected. Except for occasional use among the Phalaborwa, however, the ordeal has been completely ousted by the Shangana-Tonga smeller-out and a modern method of dealing with witchcraft has developed over the whole of the Lowveld, which has spread not only into Vendaland but also into portions of the

[1] Except among Phalaborwa, Tsubye, and the people of Tzwale and Sekhopo.

4: Krige and Krige E-5 (1928-1939)1954
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mother—are important in ancestor worship. Any of these forebears may strike a man and make him ill, require a dedicated animal or a shrine in his or her honour, and, in fact, one may find shrines in one village or kraal to kin of several different lineages. In practice the mother's mother is an ancestor who most often causes illness in her grandchildren because of her great love for them.

The core of a large kraal or village (as to its huts) is usually the minor lineage, but there are always also affines and cognates, quite apart from the spouses of agnatic members of the lineage who themselves are usually cognates. In kraal matters it is by virtue of being not an agnate, but a member of the kindred (*mulogo*), that a man has a voice. The core of the district is sometimes also the lineage of the district head, but the lineage is not a political group and the influence and authority of its head are not a function of his relationship, agnatic or other, to the people living in the district. Districts, of which there are 140—with an average area of 1 square mile and population of 250—are linked to the queen on the pattern of cattle and wife exchanges. Districts are either held by descendants of one of the original agnatic lineages of the nuclear ruling group, or they have been allocated to *vafumani* (wives of the queen) or to immigrant alien groups. They all send wives to the queen, who thereby becomes their son-in-law (*mufukulu*) and, by allocating them to other district heads and to royal relatives, she becomes parent-in-law (*vamakhadu*) to the latter. Those lineages of the royal nuclear group who send wives to the queen are both 'brothers' (agnates) and relatives-in-law (affines) to her. The use of the mechanism of the social system to align groups into reciprocal relations forges a great network of ties radiating from the queen to all strategic points in the society. It was in this way that large numbers of alien refugees were incorporated into the tribe and became related to one another. Payments of tribute and services to the queen are thus looked upon as the fulfilment of kinship obligations, in return for which the queen not only gives land and protection from enemies, but also transforms the clouds into rain and so frees men from fear and uncertainty.

Thus the kinship ties that bind subjects to the rain queen are interlocked with the values and institutions supporting her divinity. The homage in wives that is paid to her for giving men the blessings of rain, is also the means of forging the network of kinship ties. The kinship ties, again, convert political tribute and services due to the queen into morally sanctioned ceremonial exchanges between relatives-in-law; and just as there is no need for military virtues and military organization to deter enemies, since the queen, merely by withholding rain, can secure the defeat of the foe, so also there is no need to rely upon force to secure the willing allegiance of subjects who are treated to the beer that they bring, ostensibly as tribute to a sovereign but in reality as gifts from parents-in-law.

The queen is accordingly the pivot of the nodal institutions of the society. The benevolent forces in the universe are, as the Lovedu sometimes

5:Krige E-S (1936-1938, 1961-1962) 1964
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units which, each under a headman, enjoy a considerable degree of autonomy.[1] A large proportion of these districts into which the country is divided are ruled by the descendants of original sections of the nuclear group; a few have been allocated to alien groups under their own headmen while some are held by royal women, *batsumi* or 'wives' of the queen. Many districts now held by commoners originated from *batsumi* but since women do not succeed one another as heads of districts these have been inherited by their sons of husbands given to them by the queen. Royal wives (*batsumi*) are of various kinds. Some are of royal blood, daughters of close relatives of the queen to whom they have been given as a token of homage (*ho loba*). Only these are set up by the queen as rulers over districts. (Women may also rule areas in their own right where there is no male heir, as we shall see). Other royal wives are the daughters of district heads, while a number are daughters of foreign chiefs who come, sometimes with cattle, sometimes with money or a daughter to *loba* the queen for rain. Once a woman from within the tribe has been accepted by the queen as a royal wife, the tie is renewed from generation to generation on the pattern of cross-cousin marriage. Men may offer a daughter to the queen also in return for, or in the expectation of, economic help or political favour (though these are not always accepted) and there is a tendency today for districts to be subdivided into smaller and smaller units to satisfy the political aspirations of ambitious subjects. Royal wives bind to the queen not only her closest relatives but most of the important people in the tribe. Some wives are given away in marriage to her councillors, relatives and district headmen. Some remain with her and have allocated lovers. Children of these latter call the queen 'father' and she is responsible for helping them to marry.

The Lobedu proper appear originally to have regarded themselves as an aristocracy but today it is only the royal lineage (*ba Mokhale*) and a number of important Lobedu district heads that are looked up to. Many non-Lobedu lineages have, by virtue of marriage links through royal wives, a higher status and are more closely related to the queen than sections of Lobedu themselves.

[1] For a general account of the Lobedu, see Krige, E. J. 1941, Krige, E. J. and J. D., 1943 and 1950, and Krige, J. D., 1939.

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side, not to the Sekhobo side. The lineage head's father's mother had been a 'wife' and close relative of the queen, a connection which the Sekhobo family tended to stress socially and which was reflected also in their religion (they had a cow dedicated to and representing her).

The Lobedu lineage, in fact, does not operate as a group to the exclusion of other kin except in informal consultations on matters of marriage or litigation; and the lineage does not emerge in everyday activities as a clearly marked unit. A *mokhoba* such as the above is one of two or three rare occasions when the lineage comes together and in every one of these cases both sons and daughters and their children are invited to be present.

Lobedu homesteads vary in size and composition from a typical minimum of a married man with his mother, wife and children to a group of half-brothers, their mothers, wives, children and grandchildren, still living together after the death of the father. Very often other relatives, such as a widowed sister and her children, a maternal relative or an affine of the head are to be found living in the homestead. But these are the least stable elements and tend to move away in a short time. Though small units continuously hive off, and there is a good deal of change in the small homesteads of more recent immigrants or where a migrant labourer husband has never returned, the Lobedu homestead is on the whole, especially in the case of the chief son and his descendants, a remarkably stable unit. Over a period of thirty years most of the larger homesteads known to me have remained in the same place or been rebuilt a few hundred yards from the old site after the death of their head.

Economy of the Lobedu and their attitude to property

The economy of the Lobedu is a subsistence one based mainly on agriculture and stock-raising supplemented by migrant labour in European areas. Land for cultivation is allotted to individuals by the district head. Once allocated, fields are inherited in the male line and cannot be taken away so long as they are in effective use. Only if a man moves away from the district or is chased out as a witch can he and his family lose

given to the son of deceased's youngest wife who had deserted him; two goats were killed for the widow of the deceased's eldest son by his first wife when she came from Johannesburg to pay a visit of condolence. Deceased's field was a *lashapa*, a site of their previous village, and as is the custom with such a field, was divided between his wives. His mealies were equally divided between all his wives, his own daughters who were present at the ceremony also receiving some. In the case of Mathekha, all his cattle were given by the *khadi* (his sister) to his eldest son by his chief wife, a man who was a prominent councillor of the queen. It was understood they would be used for helping his brothers and half-brothers to marry. The old man's blankets and money were divided among all his children, the elder ones receiving £1 10s. 0d., the smaller ones only 10s.

The wives of a deceased man if they are still of childbearing age are allocated to his brothers or, in the case of a very young wife, sometimes to the chief son and heir. It is his responsibility to hold the family together after the death of his father. The division of the property is made on the day of purification from mourning (*khitshila*) about a year after the death when all the relatives have gathered together. The person responsible for the division of the inheritance in property and wives is the eldest uterine sister of the deceased who acts in consultation with her sisters, especially the cattle-linked sister of the deceased. If there is no uterine sister the deceased's eldest daughter takes her place. She will act in consultation with her father's brother if one is still alive. In allocating wives some consideration is generally given to the wishes of the parties concerned.

When the heir is a minor, a brother of the deceased, usually the one who inherits the mother of the heir, may be chosen to act as regent. But he must be careful to act only in consultation with the *khadi*. In many instances in the case of the death of a district head when the *khadi* (sister of deceased) is old or a widow and free to leave her husband's homestead she may herself come to rule in her brother's village. When M. died, the son of his chief wife was still a child so his uterine sister, a widow, came to rule, while the younger half-brother of the deceased returned from another area where he had been living to set up his village near by in order to raise seed to his half-brother by the chief wife and help his half-sister by conducting

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the court cases. Later, when the heir came of age, a new homestead was built. When Mabolana died in the 1940's his daughter, a married woman who does not live in the area was made official district head. Her mother's brother came specially from the Capital to live in the area and help her by conducting cases.

The mother's brother is considered to be eminently suitable as adviser to a ruler. The queen, too, traditionally has a mother's brother as chief councillor. A mother's brother has no claim to succession yet is deeply interested in the welfare of his sister's child. He will see to it that the sister's child gets his rights. The position of the son of the *khadi* who is acting as regent is somewhat different. There is a Lobedu proverb saying '*Bya khoga monye ho dula mudzidzulu*—where a master is lacking there sits the nephew'. And it is true that the son of a woman regent is often ruler in all but name. In the 1930's there were two blatant cases in which the rightful heirs of district heads who had long reached man's estate seemed in danger of permanently being ousted. In both cases in the long run when the *khadi* died the rightful heir was installed, in one of the cases on the expressed dying wish of the *khadi*. Right seems to prevail in the long run.

The Homestead Through Time

Basically a homestead consists of a group of 'houses' belonging to the wives of the head or of the head and his half-brothers. Other relatives may attach themselves to it but the core remains the group of agnates.

Many of the smaller homesteads that have all the appearance of being independent are found upon investigation to be portions (a 'house') of a neighbouring homestead, which has become separated in space but still considers itself part and acknowledges the authority and control of the senior homestead near by. The most obvious case of this arises where, owing to quarrels between co-wives, a husband has placed one of the wives in a homestead of her own and visits her there. If a wife has a married son then in the event of serious quarrels there is more likely to be a hiving off, the son moving to a different area with his mother and siblings.

In Figure 5 a very small homestead is shown. Here the

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582 E to Z are complicated and indicate how personal and other factors
583 may interfere with the best-laid cattle-linking arrangements. C, the
591 cattle-linked sister of E's father, A, had no son; so C gave the
602 bride-price of her only daughter, J, to her brother A in accordance
613 with procedure described in the text of this essay. All but one of these cattle died shortly after and then A said he did not want the cattle. C then tried to establish a 'house' with her daughter's cattle by handing over the remaining head of cattle to a classificatory brother (her father's half-brother's son). Her husband augmented this head of cattle by others obtained with his earnings from migrant labour. Unfortunately, however, these cattle instead of being used for marriage were 'eaten' (squandered) by her 'brother' and the whole plan came to nothing. Now, because E's father A had used C's cattle to marry his first wife and then had married E's mother with the bride-price of D (a daughter of his marriage to his first wife), therefore A, repenting of his earlier treatment of C and realising he was indirectly indebted to C (and J) also for his second wife (mother of E), sent his daughter E to 'cook for J' (C's daughter) and marry her son.

(e) An example of the judicious placement of cattle for purposes of promoting marriage alliances between one's own male descendants and the daughters of a friend or relative in a preferred family is to be found in the action of P in Figure 9, who was married to R the daughter of A's half-sister F. After his son's death he gave his daughter S's, bride-price to G (a descendant of his wife's mother's brother) who acquired his third wife T with it. P has thus 'built a house' (that of T) where his son's son Y will find a wife.

587 591 (f) Three instances of the marriage of a woman to another woman are to be found in the lineage-segment of A—that of D to I; that of K to E, widow of Z; and that of A's daughter N to the queen.
● [594] In the first case I wished to raise an heir to her deceased brother, in whose place she was ruling a district; in the second case E had daughters but no son and she wished to have someone to 'cook for' her; in the case of N, her father A as district headman had sent his daughter to be a *matsansi* of the queen.

613 582 591 (g) That the same lineage can be both wife-receiving and wife-giving in respect of the queen is illustrated by the fact that A's father had received in marriage from the queen a wife Q but A had also sent his daughter N to marry the queen.